



by  
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*The* **NEGROES**  
*in a*  
**SOVIET  
AMERICA**

## FOREWORD

**T**HE world is caught in the depths of a great crisis. Masses of people live on the brink of starvation. Discontent and unrest are more widespread than ever before. Changes are taking place in society and in government. Intensive preparations for war and movements towards fascism are developing quickly. These are times of great changes and of quick transformations.

The old ideas, upon which generations of people have been raised, are crumbling because life no longer justifies them. New ideas take their place. People in all walks of life are seeking new solutions, an effective way out of present conditions.

What is the relation of the Negroes in the United States to this rapidly changing world? They are now living through one of the most trying times in their history. What is the way out? This question presents itself more sharply to the Negro masses than to any other section of the population.

It is our purpose in this pamphlet to answer this question.

We believe we express the minimum desires of the Negro masses when we say that they want at least:

1. A decent and secure livelihood;
2. The rights of human beings;
3. An equal, honorable and respected status in all public and social life.

Capitalism has not been able to provide these needs, and is less and less able to do so. There are those who say that by reforming capitalism it can be made to fill the needs of the masses. We will show why this is impossible.

There is only one real, effective way out for the masses. It is not an easy one. But no basic change in society is easy. This way leads to a Soviet America. This is the only realistic vision of freedom possible today. It must be achieved, it can be achieved.

How? We will first show the basis of Negro slavery in the United States today. We will then show how all events are pushing towards another revolution in the United States and what role the Negro people will play in this revolution. We will then try to describe the tremendous vista of freedom and advance possible in a Soviet America.

# The Negroes in a Soviet America

By JAMES W. FORD and JAMES S. ALLEN

## I. THE NEGRO IN CAPITALIST AMERICA

**B**OOKER T. Washington once said: "No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized." He thought that capitalism would permit the Negro to develop business and manufacturing, and increase his ownership of land. In this way, he believed, the Negro could achieve an important economic place in the capitalist world. His whole philosophy was based upon this belief. "Agitation for social equality," he said, "would be extreme folly." Let each Negro train himself in industrial pursuits or in business, hew a place for himself in capitalist America, and only then will he be treated with respect, was his advice.

But what has this wisdom led to?

### Economic "Progress"

Let us first consider the question of landownership. During the Civil War and immediately after, the Negroes thought that they would obtain the land—"forty acres and a mule." But nothing of the kind happened. Only very slowly and with much difficulty was it possible for some to purchase land. By 1910 only one-fourth of all Negro farmers owned some land, usually very little, the poorest and most heavily mortgaged.

But for the last 25 years, capitalism has been taking even this land away from Negro farmers. In 1930 there were 40,000 less Negro farm owners than in 1910. In ten years, between 1920 and 1930, Negroes lost almost 2,000,000 acres of land. How much they have lost in the last five years, no one knows. But it is certain that land is being taken away now from Negro owners by banks, insurance companies, large landowners and other creditors, much more rapidly than before.

On the other hand, the most brutal form of slavery in the country has been growing rapidly. The Negroes are the principal victims of this slavery. It is share-cropping and planta-

tion tenancy. Everyone knows that when chattel slavery was abolished the plantations remained. Most of the Negroes became share-croppers and tenants on these plantations. They were actually prisoners, almost chattel slaves. Almost three-quarters of a century has passed since Emancipation. Has capitalism done anything to abolish this new slavery?

On the contrary! The plantation country to this day is like a prison, a veritable hell to which 5,000,000 Negroes have been consigned without any prospect of immediate escape. In fact, the slavery has even increased. In the cotton plantation area of the South, twenty-five years ago, 80 per cent of all the Negro farmers were croppers and tenants. But in 1930 their number had grown to almost 84 per cent.

There are those who say that President Roosevelt and the "New Deal" are changing this situation. But it is clear to every Negro in the plantation country that Roosevelt has been helping only the big planters. His policies have resulted in increased slavery.

When the crisis broke out in this country the large landowners in the South found themselves in a quandary. Many of the banks and credit merchants failed and those who remained refused to extend credit. Many of the small landowners, who lived from hand to mouth, were wiped out. From the beginning of the crisis to March, 1933, over a half-million forced sales and foreclosures took place in the Southern states.

Roosevelt came to the rescue of the large landowners by pumping tremendous funds into the South, most of which went to the modern slave-master — the plantation owner. In nine months alone the Farm Credit Administration advanced about \$300,000,000 directly to the planters. In this way, Roosevelt helped to bolster up the plantation, on which millions of Negroes are enslaved. The Federal Government took over many of the debts from private banks and insurance companies and is now the biggest holder of mortgages in the South. This means that it now has a direct hand in maintaining the plantation slavery, that it is part owner, together with the big planter, of a vast prison country.

The second step taken by Roosevelt was to increase the profits of the large landowners and the commission merchants by reducing acreage in the South. In 1933, while millions of people were in need of clothing, we were faced with the astounding

picture of ripe cotton being plowed under by poorly clothed farm workers. The croppers and tenants never saw the money which they were supposed to receive from the Government for this act of destruction. The plantation masters, the credit merchants, the bankers, got the government checks. This is what a government farm agent in Mississippi said:

"You know, the government in Washington caused me a little trouble here. By mistake they mailed some of the checks made out to 'nigger' croppers. They probably didn't know what they were doing when they did it. Imagine giving a check to a 'nigger' cropper! Of course, I turned these checks over to the landlords anyhow. They'll have to get the croppers to endorse them before they take them to the bank. But that won't be hard."

Acreage was cut again in 1934 under the Bankhead Bill. It is being cut again in 1935 as a result of a "democratic" election in which the plantation owners forced the Negro croppers and tenants to vote for reduction.

This is not only a decimation of crops; it is also a decimation of hundreds of thousands of human beings. Whole tenant families are being sent "down the road" by the planters, or are being permitted to eke out a miserable existence in their cabins doing forced labor for the government or the planter in return for some crumbs called relief. These landless and workless farm families are being "kept on hand" to be forced to work at plowing, chopping or cotton picking at starvation wages. Wages on most plantations are now between 25 and 50 cents a day.

Roosevelt's policies have had the effect of increasing the slavery of millions of Negro toilers in the South. Cotton, the need of millions of unclothed, a necessity of mankind, has been turned into the mark of Negro slavery by capitalism.

### The Promise of the City

It seemed to many people, especially during the World War and the years immediately following, that city life and industry would offer a means of escape from slavery on the land.

The city and its industry had been practically forbidden territory for Negroes up to the World War. In the first place, the plantation masters and government agencies of the Black Belt kept the Negroes chained to the land and would not permit them to leave. Even when industry began to develop in the South, the factory gates remained closed to Negro workers. Hope was

dimmed when the textile industry, which grew so rapidly in the South, made it clear that it would not hire Negroes. The place of the Negro, it was said, was on the plantation; their slave labor was needed there. Even to this day, the textile mills do not have any Negro workers at the machines.

But during the World War a great shortage of labor existed in industry. Then only did the capitalists make an energetic drive to obtain Negro labor.

Who does not remember the great hope of the exodus? It was compared to the Emancipation Act. The South was the land of the Pharaohs, the North "the Land of Promise". The Red Sea of capitalism was opening up to permit the Negroes to pass. But the exodus was already petering out in 1923. Employers had more labor than they needed. The Red Sea again flowed back into its normal course.

Almost twenty years have gone by since the mass migration started. Years before, Negroes, in smaller numbers, had been engaged in industrial pursuits. Yet it is a well-known fact that Negro workers have not been permitted to advance to the higher-paying jobs. They have been forced to the lowest status of all industrial workers, to the unskilled, heavy-laboring jobs. Today, no more than 10 per cent of all the Negro workers have held skilled or semi-skilled jobs. It is not because they cannot be skilled workers. Many of them are. It was a common occurrence in the South, even before the present crisis, to find graduates of Tuskegee Institute, highly trained mechanics and teachers, working as bell-boys in the hotels. But capitalism has not given the same opportunities to the Negroes for advancement and training as it had given to white workers. The white workers, it is true, are wage-slaves under capitalism. They must sell their labor to an employer in order to live. They, also, are exploited. But it is clear to everybody that the Negro wage-worker is exploited even more. He is held back to the lowest level of the wage-workers, he is pushed back by capitalism every time he advances.

Under President Roosevelt's "New Deal" this state of affairs has been officially recognized and given a legal status. The Industrial Codes have placed the official stamp of the Federal Government upon the double standard. The differential wage established by these Codes said in effect that the wages of Negro workers must remain lower than those of white workers. One

example will show how this works. The Code for the lumber industry placed the minimum wage for the North at 42½ cents an hour, and for the South, where most of the lumber workers are Negroes, at 24 cents an hour.

Now capitalism is trying to evict the Negro workers from industry for good. Today there is an army of at least 15,000,000 unemployed in the United States. Among the Negro workers unemployment is many times greater than among white workers. The number of Negroes in families on relief increased from 2,117,000 in October, 1933, to 3,500,000 in January, 1935. In many places even jobs which were always held by Negroes are being given to white workers at the same or even lower wages.

Nor has the Negro fared any better in the professions. Here again capitalism has held back with a heavy hand all efforts at advancement. In the whole country there are only 6,781 Negro physicians, lawyers and dentists. They also have been victims of segregation and discrimination, suffering from inadequate facilities in the way of training and practice, and excluded from white institutions. Many of them are starving today. For a population of 12,000,000 Negroes there are only 50,000 Negro teachers, most of whom are not permitted to teach in white schools. The yearly salary of most of these teachers does not exceed \$300.

Push ahead in business, was another advice of Booker T. Washington. One is even met with this advice on all sides today. But even the development of a large Negro middle class has proven to be impossible under capitalism. In the whole country today, there are only about 25,000 retail stores operated by Negro proprietors. Most of these are small, overnight, "peddler" affairs. Why? Not because the Negro is not capable, but because big business has the monopoly of commerce and trade. Segregation forces the Negro retailer to sell only in Negro neighborhoods. He has a poor clientele. He has no chance against the chain store. Today, many small business men are being wiped out.

A small, well-to-do class, however, has developed among the Negro people. The Negroes also have a millionaire or two. But this class has developed only at the expense of the rest of the Negro community. It gathers for itself a goodly share of the profits arising from the exploitation of the Negro masses. It is true that capitalism has not permitted the existence of any large Negro-owned industrial enterprises. The white ruling class is

the direct exploiter of the Negro masses on the plantations and in industry. But the Negro upper class has found another way to exploit the Negro masses.

It makes its profits by taking advantage of segregation and the ideas of "white superiority"! If one examines a list of the wealthiest Negroes he will find that many of them have made their fortunes by speculating in real estate in the segregated sections of large cities and by extracting extremely high rents from their Negro tenants (Walt Terry, the Negro millionaire; John E. Nail, Oscar DePriest, etc.). Others have built up their wealth in the cosmetic business by commercializing the idea of "white beauty" (Madame C. J. Walker, Mrs. Annie M. Turner, Anthony Overton, etc.). Still others have made their wealth in the insurance and banking business, closely connected with real estate speculation and landlordism (Anthony Overton, C. C. Spaulding, etc.). A number of Negro physicians and ministers have accumulated small fortunes, not in their practice but in real estate. These people live on the body of the segregated Negro community. They are in favor of segregation and oppose all efforts to wipe out segregation, for it would mean destroying the basis of their wealth.

It is clear, then, that capitalism has hindered the economic progress of the Negro people. With the exception of the small layer of parasites, the Negro people are retarded, held down, pushed down to the lowest level. This is economic progress during 75 years of capitalist freedom!

### The "Stigma of Race"

"That *thing* over there!"

These were the words with which Thomas Knight, Jr., chief prosecutor in the Scottsboro Case, referred to Heywood Patterson during the second trial at Decatur, Alabama.

These words express the contemptuous and insulting attitude towards Negroes which capitalism breathes. "Keep the Negro in his place"—this is the watchword of the modern slave driver. Social ostracism, persecution, segregation, insult have taken the place of the slaveowner's paternalism and of Simon Legree's whip.

The facts of Jim-Crowism, lynching, discrimination are so generally known and are so deeply branded in the heart of the Negro masses that we need not go into detail here. Suffice it to



say that the rulers of this country, especially and most openly in the South, have made the Negro a social outcast, have treated him not like a human being but like cattle. They have gone to the greatest pains to brand the Negroes with the mark of non-humans. On street cars, trains, in railroad stations and places of amusement, on drinking fountains, the ruling class of the South has broadcast to the world: "Only whites here—only Negroes there!" In the North they do not use signs, but that is the only difference.

There are written laws and there are unwritten laws. The three most important written laws with regard to Negroes are the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. These are supposed to guarantee to every Negro the full rights of citizenship and equality under the law. But these are only decorations on the Constitution. Negroes are not permitted to serve on juries in the South. A Negro voter in the South is either an object of a lynching party or a highly privileged character. Although such practices are supposed to be unconstitutional, has the Federal government, since the period immediately after the Civil War, ever done anything about it? These written laws are not enforced. But the written laws in 15 states segregating Negroes on public conveyances are very strictly enforced.

There is one unwritten law which is also very severely enforced. That is the law that lynchers of Negroes are not to be punished.

What is the reason for this very severe persecution of the Negro masses? It is not to be found in any "natural hatred" of whites for Negroes. These acts of hatred and of persecution are caused by capitalism.

First: The ruling class must use severe measures of oppression and persecution in order to keep the Negro peon on the plantation, in order to maintain that special slavery of the South. The capitalists also make use of the same measures to force the Negro to take the lowest place in industry.

Second: The whole idea of the "superiority of the white race" and the practices of Jim-Crow are used to effect a severe separation of the white masses from the Negroes. Race prejudice grew out of the old chattel slave system. Then the slaveowners were afraid of a union of the oppressed "poor whites" with the Negro slaves. Capitalism has taken over this prejudice and uses it for

the same purpose. This will be clear when one compares the oppression of the Negroes and of the Filipinos by American imperialism. The Filipinos are also an oppressed people. Yet there is not as much prejudice in the United States against Filipinos as against Negroes. The reason is that about 5,000 miles of ocean prevent the Filipino masses from carrying on daily struggles in immediate contact with the American masses. On the other hand, the whites and Negroes come into daily and constant contact in the United States, often exploited by the same boss or planter and engaging in common struggles for their daily needs. The ruling class has therefore used extreme and severe methods to keep them apart.

Let us now consider briefly education and health.

The public school system is supposed to be open to all. We should remember that the Negroes were principally responsible for starting a system of free public education in the South immediately after the Civil War. The first superintendents of the public school system in many Southern states were Negroes.

Today, the Negro is the outcast of the public school system. One million Negro children of school age are not in school at all. More than a third of the Negro pupils never get beyond the first grade and three-fourths never advance beyond the fourth. In many sections of the plantation country schools are open only for two or three months during the year.

More than half the population of Mississippi is Negro. Yet the state spends only \$5.45 a year for the education of the Negro child as compared with \$45.34 for a white pupil. In one county in Alabama it was \$57 per white child and \$1.51 per Negro.

Today, many of the Negro schools have been closed down for lack of funds. Capitalism is sacrificing the education of millions of children.

The high disease and death rates among the Negro people reveal the severity of capitalist exploitation. In Milwaukee, for instance, the death rate from tuberculosis among Negroes was eight times as great as among whites; in Harlem three times as great as compared with New York City as a whole. Deaths from heart disease are twice as great among Negroes as among whites. In Manhattan, where the Negroes constitute only 12 per cent of the total population, almost one-fourth of all infant deaths occurred among Negroes.

This high death and disease rate is due to the hard exploitation of Negroes, to lack of hospitals and of care, to the crowding of the segregated sections.

In view of these appalling facts, knowing all the bitter details of our daily existence, is there any reason why we should permit capitalism to continue?

### The Reformers and the "Race Criers"

There are still those who would have the Negro masses believe that capitalism can do better than it has in the past. These people range from out-and-out reactionaries to those who cover reactionary policies with radical drapings. Let us see what they have to say as to the way out.

### The Bootstrap Lifters

There are still many followers of Booker T. Washington today who would have us lift ourselves up by our bootstraps, when many of us do not even have boots.

But we have already seen, from 75 years of experience, that capitalism has permitted only very few to rise—at the expense of the rest of the people. Today, when the crisis is denying millions even the barest necessities of life, only a quack or an out-and-out reactionary can give such counsel.

But this kind of agitation is still very strong. Pick up almost any Negro newspaper, listen to many of the "race leaders" and you will be advised to help build Negro business. This will solve all our problems, we are told. The executive secretary of the National Negro Business League tells us "Business points the way to a breakdown of the barriers and handicaps which retard Negro progress." He, and many others, call upon the Negro masses to patronize Negro business, as the most effective means to protect themselves against persecution.

How false, how bankrupt is this advice! Everywhere the capitalists are *cutting down* production, have closed factories, reduced crops. The big monopolies and trusts are getting greater control of manufacturing and of the market. Small businessmen everywhere are going bankrupt. Even the largest Negro banks and insurance companies, the pride of the followers of Washington, have crashed—the two largest Negro banks, the Binga State and the Douglass National, the "Capstone of Negro business"

the National Benefit Life Insurance Company of Washington,

and others. The P & H Taxi Corporation of Harlem employing 750 workers, saw its last days during the crisis.

The capitalist road of advance is now out of the question. The Negro upper class uses this argument in an attempt to win the Negro market. It has nothing in common with the real interests of the Negro masses.

### The Ballot and the Drawing Room

In contrast to Booker T. Washington and his followers there arose the group of middle class reformers. They were not and are not today entirely opposed to Washington's philosophy. We have in mind especially the educators and present day leaders of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League.

We say they are not entirely opposed to Washington and the Tuskegee idea for they only objected to Washington's counsel that it would be extremely difficult to agitate for social equality. They, however, accepted the basic part of the bootstrap ladder program, they accepted capitalism. On the basis of capitalism it seems to them, it is still possible to make economic headway.

The N. A. A. C. P. began on a wave of excitement and rage against Booker T. Washington's betrayal of the fight for equality. Because like Washington the N. A. A. C. P. accepted capitalism, it received the support of members of the white ruling class who believed in reform. The basic idea of the reformers is that it is possible to change capitalism for the better. If it within the limits of the present system, by peaceful and gradual methods, it will be possible to do away with the oppression of the Negro people. But actual events have shown these people to be completely wrong. Conditions are actually growing much worse in capitalism. The extreme exploitation of the Negro workers and farmers is not being done away with, on the contrary it is being increased. Actually the capitalist Negroes are not happy.

The methods of the N. A. A. C. P. have proved to be treacherous. The leaders of the organization are afraid to raise mass movements. They prefer to meet representatives of the ruling class in the drawing room to make compromises with them. Two recent cases show this plainly.

In the Crowder case, where the Negro defendant was charged with the murder of a white farm family in Virginia, the N. A. A. C. P. made an agreement with the prosecution as a result of



own representatives, and create their own organizations. We fight against every effort to take these rights away.

But at the same time we emphasize that capitalism cannot be done away with by the ballot. We believe in using elections and our representatives in elected bodies to rally the people against capitalism. As long as capitalism permits the rights of citizenship the working class should use these rights against the capitalists. But anyone who tells you to depend upon the ballot to rid the world of capitalism is betraying you. It has happened in Germany, Italy and in Austria: the capitalists took these rights away, forbid the right of free press, free assembly, free speech and the vote. And what then? Does not the ruling class in the United States more and more deny the rights of citizenship to workers, have they not always denied these rights to Negroes?

### The "Race Criers": Black Patriotism

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, former editor of *The Crisis* who recently departed from the N. A. A. C. P., is today the clearest and foremost exponent of Black Patriotism and race solidarity. We will examine his arguments one by one, for they are the most complete and best arguments for this point of view. We will then show how dangerous such ideas are to the struggle for Negro freedom.

*First argument.* The Negro upper class, says Dr. DuBois, is not an exploiter of Negro labor.

We have already shown that this is not true. It is correct that there are very few Negro manufacturers or large landowners who hire labor and exploit Negro workers directly. But there is a Negro upper class which lives by means of segregation. It is in the interest of this class to defend segregation, for the very basis of Negro business would be wiped out. On the other hand segregation is the worst feature of the oppression of the Negro masses. It is in the best interests of these masses to wipe out segregation. The interests of the masses and of the Negro upper class clash. In order to obtain real equality, which means doing away with segregation, it is necessary to fight not only against the white ruling class but also the Negro upper class as well.

Furthermore it is evident that the interests of the Negro upper class are the same as those of the white ruling class. Both classes will support any segregation and will fight the masses of Negro oppression. This area of interest is shown clearly in

action. On many occasions we have seen the so-called "respectable readers of the race" openly collaborating with the ruling class.

*Second argument.* The members of the Negro upper class, says Dr. DuBois, bear the brunt of color prejudice because they express in word and work the aspirations of all black folk for emancipation." He goes on to claim the Negro upper class as the leader of the Negro people towards a new future.

We know that a class which lives from crumbs off the table of American big business, like the Rocketts and the Fords, which accepts capitalism as the basis for its own existence, can not lead a strenuous and militant struggle for Negro liberation. But DuBois tries to dress this cringy warrior in shining armor, for he treats another class. He fears the working class.

The workers as a class are the only consistently revolutionary class in present-day society. If properly organized and led, they can stop the wheels of industry. They are like an army: big industry has thrown the workers together, in large disciplined masses. They organize in unions to fight for better conditions. To win better conditions they must fight against the capitalists. This struggle develops into a struggle against capitalism itself. The workers are the only class with the power to overthrow capitalism and build a new society. They lead the rest of the exploited population to this goal.

It has been one of the most inspiring facts of recent history in the United States, that the white workers have begun to overcome white prejudices and lead in the struggle for Negro rights. This is in part due to the economic crisis. As they have lost their jobs, as their conditions have grown steadily worse, they have seen the necessity of uniting with their Negro brothers against the employers. But this is also a result of the fighting of the Communists against prejudice and for working class solidarity and Negro rights. In the last six years, since 1929, the following highly significant events have occurred:

A sharecroppers union, under Communist leadership, has been organized in Alabama and other Southern states, with a membership, at the time of writing, of close to 10,000 members. This is the first time that such a large and fighting union of sharecroppers has been organized to lead struggles against the plantation masters and to continue to grow.

The Communist Party has been organizing white and Negro

workers in the South. As a result, the feeling for solidarity has grown even in the American Federation of Labor Unions in the South, as for instance in the United Mine Workers of America in the Birmingham region.

Under the leadership of the Communists, a mighty struggle for Negro rights is being waged in the South. The outstanding example of this is the Scottsboro Case.

In the North, largely as a result of Communist policy and agitation, larger and larger numbers of Negro workers are participating in the labor movement. There is a growing solidarity of white and Negro workers in the fight for unemployment insurance and relief and in the struggles of the trade unions.

This movement of solidarity and of unity has also been joined by Negro intellectuals, teachers, doctors and other professionals, who have left the reformers and understood the need of a revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

Dr. DuBois evinces the fear of the Negro upper class for this movement. He is in favor of "race" solidarity and opposes the solidarity of white and Negro labor, which he tries to prevent.

*Third argument.* He uses an old weapon of the white ruling class. He tries to turn the anger and resentment of the Negro masses not against the white capitalists and the Negro Uncle Tombs, but against the white workers. The exploitation of the Negro workers, in Dr. DuBois' own words "comes not from the black capitalist class but from the white capitalists and *equally* from the white proletariat." He goes even further, charging the white workers with causing the "lowest and most fatal degree" of the suffering of Negro labor.

The prejudice of the white workers, according to Dr. DuBois, is *inborn* and cannot be changed. The white workers cannot be trusted. They are the enemies of the Negro masses. To believe Dr. DuBois means to give up all hope of liberation.

It cannot be denied that race prejudice exists among large sections of the white workers. On many occasions, white workers have participated in acts of discrimination against Negroes. But, as a serious person will ask, what is the *cause* of this prejudice? Is it instinctive and unchangeable?

We have already seen that race prejudice arises like a stench from the plantation system and from capitalist exploitation. We have seen that capitalism has fostered this prejudice in order to



maintain the oppression of the Negro masses and prevent the unity of the white workers with them. But we have to see that this prejudice begins to fade from the backs of these white workers united with the Negroes in a single combat for their needs.

We should ask: Who are the real carriers of prejudice in the labor movement? A few people, to be sure. But so are all the labor movement when it takes the wrong line, the wrong offshoots of the workers' will, when misled by the false and treacherous prospect of a "union" leadership in the American Federation of Labor, the section of the workers that been led to sleep by the dream of an industrial union and the trade union promises of peaceable "Wob" or Green, Matthew Woll, and their cohorts.

But, repeat, depend on the real conditions of life in which we live that we are not at the weak end of the stick, the Green, Woll, and such traitors, traitor workers, Negro workers. The answer to this is that there is no traitor laborer, no traitor worker, no traitor employer because of the economic crisis. All skilled workers, no matter what the color of their skin, no matter what wages they are paid, are needed in the same measure to save the country from total ruin and to save the people from the terror of the great depression. The only traitor is the traitor laborer who is not working.

In the Negro must be organized in a new way in order to defend themselves against the attacks of the employers. Proof of this is the great wave of strikes and organization drives which began to sweep the country in 1933.

The Southern white workers must be organized on a new American working class basis. For the Negro workers must persist to combat with race prejudice. Now, in the course of a long and bitter struggle against the exploiters they are developing solidarity with the Negro workers. More than anyone else, we realize the need for a new type of people's united front workers. They are more than ready to be organized on a new basis, far more so than prejudice. Let us illustrate.

In an industrial city of the South there was a group of about 100 white workers, most of them unemployed. They were being misled by a Communist Party. They would meet in a new kind of union, such as the American Federation of Labor, to show the experience they knew would be needed in a mass movement. They were going with the Negro workers in

the same unions. For during the great railway shopmen's strike in 1922, the union refused to let its members be employed so long because the union had refused admittance to the managers' helpers, who were Negroes. When the strike broke out, many of the Negro workers saw no reason for helping the white workers who had refused to admit them to the union and left for new employers. The result was that the employers now paid the Negro helpers in the molder's job at lower wages of course and broke both the strike and the union.

But these white molders, in their discussions with the Communist organizer, objected to see a equality. The conversation ran somewhat as follows:

*White worker.* I don't like Negroes, and I don't see why I should sit beside one at a meeting or on a street car.

*Communist.* Now you agree that white and Negro workers should organize together in the same union. It is as if you say that there is a strike. There will be a strike committee. On this strike committee there will be both white and Negro workers, and expect us in one of our struggles we shall have a strike situation.

*White worker.* That's right. We'll have to keep our picket lines strong and stop any white or Negro scabs.

*Communist.* It will be necessary for this strike committee to meet almost continually. You will have to do it in a public hall for this is the only way. It may be after you and your employer afford to have his lawyers, if the strike put in of commission. You may have to meet in your own house perhaps.

*White worker.* Yes, if there is no other way at all.

*Communist.* Your home is small. You will have to use your largest room, the parlor. You will have Negroes in your parlor for you cannot exclude Negroes from the strike committee meeting. The strike is the most important thing. This strike may be a very hard one. During the most crucial time it may be necessary to meet late into the night and go into action again early in the morning. Some of the Negro members of the Committee may live in the opposite end of town. They cannot go home—they may have to sleep over. Will you allow them the hospitality of your home? Social equality, you see, becomes a necessity. If the strike of the class struggle. If you do not practice this social equality, you will lose the support of the Negro workers and the strike will be lost.

The white workers were a little taken aback. They thought it was driving things a little too far, although they could not deny the logic of this argument. When in the local election campaign the Communist Party ran a Negro worker as candidate for Mayor these white workers refused to meet with the Communist organizer. But the attitude changed quickly enough.

Shortly after the city cut down on relief. The Unemployment Council and the Communist Party called for a demonstration of protest. Fully five thousand workers, both whites and Negroes, responded. But the police broke up the demonstration immediately, beating up one of the speakers and arresting three. The workers were incensed. Large numbers came to the Unemployment Council hall, which could seat no more than 100 persons. On the long wooden benches were seated white and Negro workers side by side, talking excitedly about their experiences, and cursing in common terms the police and the city administration. And talking just as excitedly with a group of Negro workers were some of these white mousters whom it had been so hard to convince. The actual facts of life, the common experiences with the Negro workers, had brought them together.

This is the way working class solidarity is built. Prejudice may remain, but it becomes less important, is superseded by the needs of the daily struggle. The white workers will overcome the hindrance of prejudice, because they must do so in order to live.

Now, Dr. DuBois, in rousing the enmity of the Negroes against the white workers, as to other upholders of "race solidarity", helps to prevent this unity. He takes advantage of the distrust of whites which has been imbedded in the hearts of the Negroes by long years of oppression. He fans and builds this distrust.

*The conclusion.* And what is the solution proposed by Dr. DuBois?

The only thing that we not only can, but must do, is voluntarily and insistently to organize our economic and social power, no matter how much segregation is put upon us.

Now if this is not an outspoken defense and support of segregation, we do not know what a Negro salvation is to come. Enough segregation, the watchword of the parasites among the Negro people!

We have not much to add about the new Garveyites, about the movement led by the "Black Hitler" Sukh, the exponents of

the 49th State and other similar race in venients. They are all based on the same ideas expressed so well by Dr DuBois. Whether it be a return to Africa or the restriction of 49th state for Negroes or some other such Utopian impracticable schemes, these provide no way out for the Negro masses. These plans assume support and cooperation of the white ruling class. They distract the Negro masses from effective struggle against American imperialism and lead them deeper into the dangerous net of race segregation which satisfies only the present interests of the Negro upper class and the ruling class of the country.

These movements of white race segregation have recently had a new wave or hit. They have grown as a result of the crisis which has ruined many Negro middle class people who are desperately seeking a way out of their increased persecution and terror against the Negroes at home and abroad. Many participate because they honestly believe but this is the way out.

Among the new movements of this character are those which are founded on plans for Negroes. Among these are the Cost of Living movement in Baltimore, the Negro Labor Union in Washington, D.C. and the Southern movement in the south. These movements confine their activities to individual establishments in the Negro communities. So small and weak are these movements that it is clear that they could only provide a limited number of jobs for Negro workers and would in no way be able to solve the problem of mass unemployment. These movements, then, have the effect of narrowing the struggle for industrial liberation for all workers and for adequate relief. They shut the struggle into a closed alley.

But just as it was with the real interests of the Negro masses, so the effect of this present time strengthening separation of the white and Negro workers for the leaders is to advance the replacement of white workers employed by Negro neighborhoods. In this way they direct the resentment of the Negro workers not against the ruling class but against the white workers. Instead we should have a more united struggle for the organization of all Negro workers together with the white workers for the opening of the doors of the unions to Negroes — just as the white workers are *as in Negro neighborhoods* and to obtain wage justice and insurance for the unemployed from the Federal Government.

Another movement especially large ones at this time is the



other prominent Negroes who have either visited or who live and work in the Soviet Union. Robinson, a Negro mechanic, is a member of the Moscow Soviet, the chief governmental body of the capital of the Soviet Union. The Soviet government has renounced all the special privileges formerly held by the Tsar in China, Persia, Turkey and other Eastern countries.

And yet the American-Japanese capitalism are spreading the lie that the Soviet Union is one of those 'white nations' which seeks to dominate the colored peoples of the world.

From Dr. Dubois' book, the new editions of Carey and the imitations of Japanese capitalism, there runs a common sick race theory, race selfishness, race patriotism. Will these solve the problem of the Negro people? For a reply one need only ask: Has segregation solved this problem? Is it not true that segregation is the problem, the very thing which has to be wiped out? Are these doctors proposing to heap still more and even more segregation upon us?

### The Threat of Fascism

One of the leading fascist journals in Germany says:

'In each Nation, whatever the kindest disposition is the least by far, the least attractive man who can be regarded neither by enemies of the Nation nor by an external witness of civilization. All assimilation, all education is bound to fail on account of the racial inborn features of the blood. One can therefore understand why in the Southern states of America sheer necessity compels the white race to act in an abhorrent and perhaps even cruel manner against the Negro race. And it is the misfortune of the Negroes that are visited by the misfortune of race.'\*

Spoken like a Klu Klux Klan! This expresses the threat of fascism to the Negro soul. It comes to the United States. The country would be the domain of the super-KKK. The Negro would be the chief victim of fascist persecutions and murder. Lynching would become the national sport of the fascists, mercenaries. Already the budding fascist organizations in this country have written the degradation of the Negro into their program as their most sacred principle.

Fascism is rapidly growing in the United States today. As conditions grow worse, as the masses of people become more and more dissatisfied and seek a way out of the misery imposed

by capitalism, the capital steers us to the road of fascism. It is the last line of trenches for capitalism before the storm of the revolutionary army. When fascism comes into power as we see in the fascist countries of Europe, the last liberties are taken away from the masses. The trade unions and all independent organizations of the masses are smashed, only government or company unions and fascist organizations are permitted. An open dictatorship of the capitalists takes the country. One can well imagine what the lot of the Negro people would be under such a dictatorship.

Under President Roosevelt the road is being paved for fascism. With the help of the N.R.A. labor boards the attempt is being made to force the workers into company unions, to abrogate the right to strike, or to place the unions entirely under government control. More and more power has been concentrated into the hands of the President who turns more directly to the high financial moguls of Wall Street for his orders. There are rapid preparations for war and increased propaganda of nationalism and patriotism.

But the President and his aides carry out these policies under cover of many phrases and promises about helping the people. The people are radical minded, Roosevelt, therefore, uses some radical phrases. This also is a method of the fascists who have made demagoguery a supreme art. He talks about 'chasing the money changers from the temple' but aids big business.

But there are others with their ears close to the ground who go even farther than Roosevelt in the use of anti-capitalist language. These are the buffing fascist leaders, like Father Coughlin, William R. Hearst and Huey Long. Father Coughlin and Huey Long are clever men who talk about the inequalities and injustices of capitalism and because of this get a ready response from many people who do not yet understand how to do away with these injustices. Hearst throughout his whole life has been a close enemy of the workers and a loyal defender of capitalism. He realizes that the Coughlin and Long methods are today the best way to try and to prolong the life of capitalism. He therefore supports them and offers them the services of his chain of anti-labor newspapers. But it was with language such as these men use that Hitler built his fascist storm troops in Germany. He obtained his funds from the biggest industrialists and an

cers of Germany just as certain big bankers in the United States are today making a support bidding race in the United States. He has also talked about bringing labor & doing away with unemployment, re-distributing wealth, etc. But these are all remained empty promises after he came into power.

That Huey Long, a representative of the plantation masters of the South that Father Coughlin linked Wall Street through the Committee for the Nation that Hearst, the king of an emperor and anti Negro propagandist should have to talk against outstanding evils of capitalism in order to save it shows the important thing Capitalism is on the brink of destruction. People no longer believe in it. The turning point in history has come.

The masses of Negro people certainly have no desire to see the present system of society in the United States continue. It has meant more suffering and slavery for them than for any other section of the population. What are the important changes which have to be made? How can they be made?

## II. THE NEGRO AND REVOLUTION

### Two Revolutions in One

The problem of Negro liberation has two aspects. The first is the question of equality. Here we ask, what must be done to remove the bases of the special persecution and oppression of the Negro people? We pose lynching, segregation, social ostracism as well as extra-extraction on the land and in industry?

The second is common to all workers and exploited, whether they be white or Negro. Here we ask, what must be done to wipe out wages slavery, unemployment, poverty, crises and war?

These questions are not entirely separate, but are connected with each other. We shall first consider each separately and then show how the solution for the first flows into the solution for the second.

### The Rebellion of an Oppressed Nation

The special oppression of the Negro people in the United States is due to the deeply rooted remnants of chattel slavery. Every one knows that while chattel slavery was abolished as a result of the Civil War, freedom, such as even the white workers have under capitalism, did not take its place. Elements of the old chattel slave system remain to this very day.



These remainder of chattel slavery can be divided into the economic and the social. The most important economic remainder of slavery are the plantation system and share cropping in the South which we have already described. But the existence of these in the South not only enslaves the Negroes in the Black Belt, but keeps down the Negro population throughout the country. It also keeps the white population in the South. There are many white slaveholders whose wealth is at least three times that of the Negroes. They will not be freed from the clutches of the chattel slave system unless the Negroes are liberated.

The most important social heritage of the chattel slave system is the idea of white superiority and race prejudice. These ideas were not wiped out because chattel slavery was not entirely wiped out. As example, see here, the vice-president of the Confederacy said that the cornerstone of the South rested "upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth that the Negro is not equal to the white man. That slavery, subordinating to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition." That remains the philosophy of the ruling class of the South today.

To fully realize how much of chattel slavery still remains in the South one has only to know that the largest mass of Negroes still live in the territory of the old slave plantations. The plantations have remained and have imprisoned a large portion of the Negro population. On this territory, in the Black Belt, the Negroes are in the majority of the population. Yet precisely here where the majority of the population of the Negro people

live, the least preparation is made for coping with it. It will be impossible for Negroes to bring equality for in order to rise above the plantation level it is first necessary to remove the plantation and divide the land among the freed slaves.

Thus an enemy has been the organized power of the masses of ex-slaves and ex-slaves' children in the Black Belt and throughout the South. There is not one powerful and successful organization, preparation and proper leadership. The uprisings of the Share Croppers Union of Alabama and of the Farmers Union of Arkansas shows that the situation is ripe for rapid organization.

This land revolution will also be aided by the hundreds of thousands of white sharecroppers and peonage who have suffered from the plantation and credit system. They too, will

see the necessity of throwing the large land owners off their backs, escaping from the tyranny of the credit masters and the usurers, and of giving land to the landless.

Seventy-five years ago, the North went to war in order to destroy the power of the slaveowners. That war was a revolution. But it was not finished. Our task is to finish it.

But the revolution will not stop with the seizure of the land. That will just be the beginning of a complete, really basic change in the home and of such terror. For just consider where this land revolution will take place—precisely in the plantation country, where the Negroes are today the most oppressed section of the population and where they form the majority of the population. Let us imagine such a revolution taking place in the Mississippi River Delta. Here there are huge plantations. In some counties the Negroes are as high as 90 and 95 per cent of the total population. Throughout this area they are not less than 60 per cent. With the power of the plantation owners destroyed, a new kind of government will be set up by the farmers and the workers in this territory. For the first time Negroes and oppressed poor whites will really enjoy democracy. The Negroes will play the leading role both in the land revolution and in the new revolutionary governments.

The same will occur throughout the plantation area, from southeast Virginia down through the Carolinas and central Georgia across Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, continuing into Arkansas and parts of Tennessee and Texas. Now will be the opportunity to really establish the basis of Negro freedom. This land, on which the Negroes have been enslaved for generations, can then be made into a free land. It can be proclaimed as a new country in which the land has been freed from the exploiters, where the majority, the Negro people, rule with the cooperation of the white masses in the territory.

The white masses in the land will support this new government for it will mean that their right to land is also recognized, that for the first time they too will have the benefits of free public school education, freedom from usury, etc. The old South will not be the same. The Negroes will come into their own.

The real test of freedom for the Negro people is the Black Belt test in their right to self-determination. Unless they can choose freely for themselves what the relationship of this new

government will be to the United States as a whole they will not be free. If the capitalists are still in power in Washington we can rest assured that they will oppose and try to crush the rebellion of the Negro people. The Negro people need powerful allies to carry through and to defend his revolution for freedom. They will have such an ally in the working class, the leading force in the struggles of all oppressed sections of the population of the United States against capitalist exploitation.

We must now consider the revolution which will take place throughout the country.

### The Proletarian Revolution

Capitalism is giving birth to revolution. The United States was created as the result of the struggle against British domination. It strengthened its position as a social revolution against the slaveowners in 1861. Now capitalism is decaying. It can no longer supply the needs of life to those who produce. It is an outworn system. It must give way to a new system of society. A complete transformation must take place which can come only as the result of a social revolution.

What does change this? The producer is driven away with wage slavery and exploited work. Capitalism is based upon the private ownership of the means of production, land and all the means of production. The means of production are in the hands of capitalist class the capitalists. The great principles of capitalism are private property and profit. Millions of workers produce, but the masses live in poverty. But these means of production belong to the property of those who own the machines, the land, etc. while the workers do not have the money with which to buy them. Crises occur masses of people suffer. Crises are seized by the capitalist powers in a race for profits and booty. Capitalism gives birth to war.

Only one thing can do away with the basis or the existence of capitalism, the exploitation of the capitalists. Take the means of production away from them, place them in the hands of the workers who will produce not for profit but for the needs of society. The working class is in a position to bring this change about. It alone, by its own organized efforts and supported by the rest of the oppressed population can really and truly change, transform the system under which we live. This change is inevitable. The workers are driven towards it by capitalism itself.



How does it come about that the white workers not only will but must lend their support to the struggle for Negro liberation?

First of all, because the white workers will not be able to ever throw capitalism unless they have the help of the Negro people. This is why we say that it is inevitable that the white workers—even the Southern white workers—fight for Negro freedom and support the struggle of the Negro people. They will do so because it is necessary for their own victory.

The Southern white workers especially will support the Negroes in their struggle. For in the South the power of the landowners and capitalists is so threatened most of all in the Black Belt. Here the class struggle is very sharp. This is the weakest front of capitalism. I will imagine what observation will be made of the coming class of the country when the struggle in the Southern country reaches the stage of revolution. The revolution which breaks out here may indeed be the spark of the proletarian revolution throughout the country. The white workers will understand that the struggle of the Negro people for freedom weakens the power of their own oppressors, the capitalists.

Between the proletarian revolution and the revolution of the Negro people for liberation freedom there is a twin link. This is the working class. It is in the new workers that solidarity first develops and is the strongest in the mines and towns of the South and in the big industrial centers of the North. This solidarity between white and Negro labor is the bedrock. Here reposes the verbiage of the two aspects of the revolution.

But there also must be present a conscious organized group of workers who recognizes the necessity for liberation and who leads the masses in their daily struggles—what is this? This is the role of the Communist Party. Communists do not only talk about the future revolution but are active fighters for the daily interests of the masses—farmers and other working class organizations, in strikes, in labor relations, in education. We Communists make war while playing a leading part in the struggles of the masses to lay another of the correct revolutionary way out. And one of our primary tasks of activity has always been to develop now the solidarity of the white workers with Negro masses, to find this at any cost, at any life and struggles, to assure the continuation of the two aspects of the American revolution.

In building this class solidarity there is a division of labor but with a common aim between the white and Negro workers. The white workers must realize that the main responsibility for establishing working class solidarity rests upon their shoulders. They must fight the fight against race prejudice in the ranks of the white masses. They must remember that for centuries the Negro people have been oppressed by white nations. Among the Negro masses there is a deep distrust of all whites. The plantation system and capitalism have created this distrust and it cannot be broken down with mere verbal words. Race prejudice poisons the air in this country. After having been excluded from a number of labor unions having been ostracized by many sections of whites, there is no reason for Negroes to believe in words only. They can only be convinced by action. If they see a great number of white workers actually fighting for Negro rights, fighting against race prejudice, insisting upon equal treatment and places for Negroes, then they will have cause to rely upon the white workers as brothers. This is the only way this distrust can be overcome. This is why the Communists, especially the white Communists, vigilantly guard their party against the influence of race prejudice. No white worker is deserving of the name of Communist unless he constantly carries on a struggle against every manifestation of race prejudice among the workers.

The Negro workers in order to achieve working class solidarity have the chief task of fighting against black patriotism and race solidarity. They must constantly fight against the ideas of such people as D. DuBois for as we have seen, they strengthen the Negro's distrust of the white workers. No Negro has the right to call himself a Communist unless he fights constantly against the Negro race leaders unless he is always exposing the true role of those who call for separation between white and Negro unless he is constantly explaining the unity of interests of the Negro masses and of the working class. The Negro Communist is first and foremost the exponent of the proletarian revolution for he realizes that this alone will guarantee not only freedom for the Negro but also emancipation of all toilers.

### How Will the Question of Self-Determination Be Settled?

The Communists fight for the right of the Black Belt territory to self-determination. This means not only that the Negro people shall no longer be oppressed but shall come into their

[illegible]

One cannot tell in advance under what circumstances the question of racial hatred will be a question for the Negro people in the Black Belt. It will be a question for the Negro people in the Black Belt.

First, the capitalist ruling class in the North is more  
 secure in the present than it was in the past. This is a possibility because the industrial revolution worked  
 in the South and the social Negro movement in the North are  
 revolutionary but not great power. It is possible, however, that  
 the revolution in the United States is coming to the head  
 and present stage unless capital is brought to the city's  
 in the cities of the North, the Negro is working  
 working class movements. In this situation, the interests of the  
 Negro people would be served by a revolution in the North  
 and a revolution in the working class led by the Communist  
 Party, would come to the aid of the masses in the South to pre-  
 vent the capitalist ruling class of the North from suppressing the  
 revolution in the Black Belt. The Negroes in the South are the Com-  
 munist in the Black Belt. They have and would do everything  
 in their power to suppress the revolution in the Black Belt to  
 take the place of the Negro people in the Black Belt to  
 take the place of the Negro people in the Black Belt to  
 of the North for complete independence. The Black Belt re-  
 gion would then be a free freedom for the Negroes, no a  
 series of workers of power. It is also the duty of  
 a whole lot of people to take the right of the Negro  
 people to make their choice.

Second, the Negro minority has many excellent capabilities and resources. A Negro takes much of the country as a whole by the nose, even though most of the so-called Black Belt States have been long since freed by the law. Because of the exclusive white monopoly of the property, the Negro workers are leading the fight against it. To use the very language of the Negro people, "to go and do some thing" may at the same time mean "to go to the South." But when the workers come to power, the United States will be a nation of labor and freedom with no slavery and no Jim Crow. One of the first steps the entire Negro community will take will be to elect a United Negro delegation to the Next period of the Black Belt.





troops of the foreign powers and where the workers and peasants had succeeded in establishing autonomous Socialist Soviet governments, these Soviet governments at once federated themselves to the central Russian Soviet Republic. Only as the revolution developed in the other regions and as the counter-revolutionary intervention armies were defeated were Soviet governments established there. Although the working class of central Russia gave direct aid to the struggle of the peoples of the outlying regions against the intervention armies and the counter-revolutionists, none of these regions was forced to federate with the other Soviet Republics. To this very day, the constitution of the Soviet Union permits the right of self-determination to all the nations at present in the Union.

There were also other developments. In some regions the people were misled under the influence of reactionary leaders who were supported by foreign powers. Either the proletarian revolution was suppressed or the proletariat was not yet strong enough nor independent enough from the bourgeois leaders to carry through the revolution to victory. Such a case was Finland, which at one time was a part of the Russian Empire. Towards the end of the World War Finland came under the domination of the German Army, with whose aid the Finnish ruling class suppressed the proletarian revolution and established an independent republic under the domination of the capitalists. Did the Soviet Government try to force Finland into the Union of Soviet Republics? On the contrary Lenin, as the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Republic, himself personally acknowledged to a representative of the Finnish Republic the right of that country to secede and gave him official sanction to do so.

"I very well remember the words of the Smolny," said Lenin later, when he refused to grant the charter to Vyshkovsky, the representative of the Finnish bourgeoisie who had paid the part of his ransom. He arms shook my hand and we paid each other compliments. It was unpleasant but was. But it had to be done because at that time the bourgeoisie leaders persuaded the people the ruling masses to believe that the Whites were chaos mongers and that the Great Russians wanted to crush the Finns."

And if the Soviet Government had not granted the Finns the right to secede and attempted to keep them by force, this would have meant annexation. The Finnish masses would have looked upon the Soviet Government as a foreign oppressor, no better than

**Tearism.** Today, the Finns are under the hard and brutal reactionary dictatorship of the Finnish bourgeoisie, but there can be no doubt that once they have overthrown this bourgeoisie there will be no hesitation to federate with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government and the Communist Party recognized the rights of all the nations which had formerly been oppressed by Tsardom. The Soviet Union is composed of more than 100 different nations and national minorities. The oppression of these nations is now impossible because the masters of that nation which formerly oppressed them have overthrown the bourgeoisie and the landlords and are building socialism. These numerous nations live in complete harmony with each other. They have received direct aid from the Great Russians in building their industry, improving their agriculture and achieving complete economic equality with the other peoples of the Soviet Union.

The proletarian revolution first wiped out the basis of national oppression. Then it began rapidly to lay the basis of equality. For many of these formerly oppressed peoples had been retarded and held back by Tsardom. It was necessary to carry through the development of industry and agriculture in the regions where the formerly oppressed nations lived, at even a quicker pace than in Central Russia. We have witnessed here the most rapid development of peoples that all of history can show. Nomadic peoples were lifted out of their backwardness, almost overnight developed into an industrial and modern agricultural people without having to go through the stage of capitalism. Cultural development is equally swift. The basis for inequality is rapidly disappearing even in most backward areas.

The Soviet Union has proved the correctness of the Communist program. It is the former prison of nations where the question of national liberation and of national progress is very much more complicated than in the United States, such a great success has been achieved, can there be any doubt about the realization of equal and even greater success here?

### The Revolutionary Way

We have seen that only a basic change can guarantee to the Negro the possibility for a decent livelihood, the rights of human beings and an equal, honorable and respected status in all public and social life. The ruling class will not permit such a change.

The masses of exploited must therefore organize in order to make use of their right to revolution.

Revolution is not a matter of our own choosing. It is forced upon us by capitalism itself which degrades us, grinds us down into the dust, makes life unendurable. As long as exploitation and oppression have existed there have been revolutions.

The revolutionary way has always been the way of human progress. Capitalism came into being as the result of a revolution against feudalism and the nobility in Europe. Socialism came into being in Russia as the result of a revolution against capitalism. Revolution has marked the birth and progress of the United States. Now another revolution is necessary to remove a bloating system and make way for further progress. But the proletarian revolution differs from all the other revolutions of history. All previous revolutions resulted in a new exploiting class coming into power and suppressing the majority of the people. The proletarian revolution results in the majority coming into power, suppressing the exploiting minority and removing the basis of all exploitation and oppression. Only then is the possibility created for doing away with all classes. Society organizes a new social and economic system, the Socialist system, to provide the necessities of life for all mankind.

The revolutionary way has not been strange to the Negro people in the United States. Revolutionary struggles have marked their history. Have we forgotten the courageous struggles of the African peoples for life and liberty against the slave masters of Europe and the American colonies? Even the few incidents which have been recorded in written history testify to the determined struggle of the Negroes against enslavement from the very beginning. The Negro people are full of inspiration in the revolutionary example of George Thompson, Vesey, Nat Turner and untold thousands of fighters in the numerous slave rebellions in the United States and in the Caribbean and abroad. Many Negroes participated in the revolutionary war of the American colonies against the British. The Civil War itself was a revolutionary war in which the Negroes, those who were yesterday's chattel slaves, fought for land and liberty.

That glorious Civil War became when the embattled Negro fought with the white freed slaves, the first battle of liberation for the rights of citizenship and freedom is today an heroic revolution.

linary and living example firing the aspirations of the Negro people for freedom. In more recent times, can we forget the heroic struggle of the Elaine, Arkansas (1919), Camp Hill and Reeltown Alabama (1931 and 1933) sharecroppers against the plantation masters? Or the thousands of Negro workers who have fought shoulder to shoulder with the white workers in strikes and on picket lines? And in other parts of the world, the glorious tradition of the Haitian Revolution, of the Maroons of Jamaica, of the victorious rebels of Dutch Guiana, Scottsboro demonstrations in Cuba and Africa?

During the Civil War, and immediately after, the Negro masses fought bravely. They were defeated, for they had no allies. The Northern ruling class betrayed them. But today they have a powerful, thoroughly dependable ally, the working class. Together they can create a new world.

### III. THE NEGRO IN SOVIET AMERICA

What will our revolution create? What will the new world be like? What will be the place of the Negro people in this new society?

We do not need to be prophets. On the basis of our present possibilities and of the new paths already laid bare in the Soviet Union, it is possible to at least outline the main features of the new society. These are not empty visions, drawn out of the thin air. We know the causes of our present condition. We know how to remove them. We can foresee with certainty the minimum of what can be done once capitalism is replaced by socialism.

This knowledge should fire us with great zeal in our present task of organization and struggle. For we know with certainty what we are striving for.

#### The Soviet United States

The peoples of the Soviet Union had to overcome great difficulties in the building of socialism. The country was a backward one, the working class was relatively small and untrained. New industries had to be built. The peasants had to learn modern methods in agriculture.

The Soviet United States, on the other hand, will have received a tremendous heritage of large-scale industries, of the most modern and up-to-date technique. It will have at its dis-

posal the largest industries of the world. In most parts of the country the farmers will already have been trained in modern methods of agriculture. There is a skilled work up class and in the ways of highly developed technique. Railroads thread the whole country. Great wealth has already been created.

In addition, the country is rich in natural resources, such as land, coal, ore, oil, water power, timber, etc., which can be turned into sources of unending prosperity for the population.

Once this wealth is no longer private property and has become the property of the Soviet republic, it can be used not for the purpose of exploiting human beings, but to fulfill all the needs of the people.

I say there is no work for millions who as a result do not have the means to live. Under a Soviet America our industry can be put to work at full blast, turning out a tremendous amount of the necessities of life. Almost overnight human want can be made to disappear. But not only this. Long hours of work, unhuman speed up, the hard labor of children and of old people will no longer be necessary. Amidst the great abundance of the country it will be possible to cut down on the length of the working day, establish a more healthy pace of work, and yet produce more than is sufficient to meet the needs of society and to create new capital for further growth and expansion. The opportunities for education and culture will be unending.

All this must be kept in mind when considering how the Negroes will fare in a Soviet America.

In the first place all handicaps, barriers, discriminations will be removed. All the opportunities created by a Soviet America will be shared by the Negroes as well as the whites. In industry, agriculture, public and social service will be open to them on the same basis as to all other citizens of the Soviet Republic.

But this would not be sufficient. Capitalism has left a heritage which has to be obliterated if the possibility of real equality is to exist. Capitalism has retarded and held back the advance of the Negro people with the result that its workers have not had the same opportunity as the white workers to become skilled. Negroes have not been permitted to become highly trained technicians and experts. Discrimination has barred the Negroes from equal opportunities in the sphere of education, science, the professions, management. As long as there is a Soviet America there

fore be faced with the need of obliterating this inequality which it will have inherited from capitalism.

The fundamental policy of a Soviet Government with regard to the Negro generally would therefore be to create even relatively greater opportunities for advance and progress for the Negro than for the white. Special emphasis would be placed upon training more Negro skilled workers, upon technical and other forms of education, upon inducing larger numbers to take up engineering, science, etc. The technical schools, colleges and universities, most of which are today either out of the reach of or closed to Negroes, would be placed at the disposal of Negroes even to a proportionately greater degree than of the rest of the population. This is the only way that special privileges for the whites can be done away with. A Soviet Government must confer greater benefits upon the Negroes than upon the whites, for the Negroes have started with less. This is the real test of equality. This is the only way that the basis for real equality can be established.

Any act of discrimination or of prejudice against a Negro will become a crime under the revolutionary law. The basis of race prejudice and oppression will no longer exist because capitalism will no longer exist. But it would be entirely Utopian to believe that the day after the revolution all prejudice will disappear. Capitalism will leave some of it behind like a stench, just like it will leave behind other capitalist ideas and prejudices. But these will be systematically fought by the Soviet Government and the Communist Party until they are extinguished. Then it will no longer be a question of wiping out the basis for such prejudices, but of merely obliterating the remnants. Socialism will remake man. To the first generation of new Soviet Americans race prejudice and discrimination will appear like a horrible disease of a past age.

In affairs of State, in the political activities of the country, in management in all phases of public life, with the removal of all discriminations, the Negro will be playing a prominent part, just as Georgians, Tadzhiks, Ukrainians, etc. are today among the leaders of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party.

The horrors of segregated, over-crowded ghettos will disappear. All residential sections of the city will be opened to the Negro. There will be no segregated areas. If Negroes wish to remain in Harlem, for instance they will be perfectly free to

do so, to destroy it, to build it up. But if they wish to live in other sections of the city, better located closer to places of work, or for other reasons, they will also be free to do so. In fact, the living in close contact and the mixing of peoples of all nationalities and of all colors will be encouraged, for this will hasten the destruction of the form of segregation passed down as a legacy from capitalism, will tend to freely amalgamate and prosper.

Thus, in a general way, we see the tremendous possibilities for the Negro in a Soviet America. No privileges for the whites which the Negroes do not at the same time have. Full equal rights. This is the minimum to be expected from a Soviet America.

But today some eight million Negroes, two-thirds of the Negro people, live in and around the plantation area in the most backward section of the country. The basic work will have to be done here. Here the real economic basis for equality, the social and political realization of equality, is to be guaranteed.

### The Soviet Negro Republic

We assume here that the new Negro Republic created as a result of the revolution for land and freedom is a Soviet Republic and that this Republic has settled the question of self-determination in favor of federation with the Soviet United States. Under such conditions, we will try to picture in its main features the transformation which can and will take place in this territory.

The actual extent of this new Republic would probably be approximately the present area in which the Negroes constitute the majority of the population. In other words it would be approximately the present plantation area. It would be certainly outside such areas as the South and North Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Georgia, Alabama, New Orleans and Shreveport, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee. In the actual determination of the boundaries of the new Republic other industrial cities may be included. The actual settlement of the question of boundaries will depend, of course, on the steps taken to assure widespread economic development to the Negro Republic. It is a question we will discuss shortly.

What will be the basis of political power? Who will hold the political power in this territory?

At the present time political power is in the hands of the

plantation masters and the capitalists. The democracy which permits the voters to elect this or that representative of the interests of the large landowners and the capitalists is limited only to a section of the white population. The Negroes are practically entirely excluded. There is less democracy here than in any other part of the country.

As a result of the revolution the plantation masters and the capitalists will be overthrown. The formerly exploited classes of the population will come to power. These will be the workers, the former sharecroppers, small tenants and small individual landowners. Because the Negroes are in a majority, especially of the exploited classes, the new governmental bodies will be predominantly composed of Negroes. The actual working out of real democracy in this territory—democracy for the majority of the people and not for the minority as under capitalism—will result in the Negroes playing the principal role in the new governmental authority.

It would have been wrong to say that the new government would be a dictatorship of the Negroes. Political power is based not upon racial characteristics but upon classes. The new political power would be a dictatorship of the workers and the small farmers. Since most of the workers and the small farmers in this territory are Negroes, they would naturally compose the greater part of the personnel of the new town, township, county and regional government bodies.

The Soviet has proven to be the international form of this kind of governmental power. The first Soviets were created by the Russian Revolution of 1905 and were established as the form of the new super of the peasantry as a result of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Since then in revolutions which have taken place in Germany, Hungary, Austria, Spain, China, Cuba and other countries, Soviets have also appeared as the form of power of the workers and peasants. The Soviets which will arise in the old South will be somewhat as follows:

They will arise locally here and there as the revolution starts, and spread as it develops further. Let us try to picture the composition of one of these Soviets, which will hold power in a certain locality. On this Soviet there will be representatives of the sharecroppers, tenants and wage workers of the plantations; then representatives, let us say, of the workers in a coal







agricultural enterprises are likely to develop in the first stages of Soviet life here. There are about 60,000 plantations in the South. The size of the average plantation is about 200 acres, but on a slightly more than half of this acreage is worked by tenants and share-croppers. The rest is worked by the land-owning farmer with wage workers. Cotton is grown on the tenant section of the plantation and the other section is used as a reserve of land and for the purpose of growing feed crops. On the one hand, the present tenant holdings together with a certain section of the reserve land could be turned into small farms worked by the former tenants. On the other hand, a good part of the wage-labor section of the plantation could be turned into model state farms or co-operatives. These could serve from the very beginning as immediate examples for the surrounding small holders of land and wage-labor co-operatives. For the advantage of this form of farming, the socialist form would immediately become apparent.

Some of these plantations are on a tremendous scale. There are over 400 plantations for instance, which have an average acreage of about 3,000, of which 1,000 acres are today worked by the landowners themselves with wage workers. The largest plantation in the world is situated at South Macon and is owned by George Johnson, one of the high officials now in the AAA. This plantation covers 5,000 acres. On plantations of this kind the use of modern machinery and the latest and most scientific methods of agriculture, the benefits of which will be shared by the producers themselves, will serve as tremendous encouragement for the creation of similar giant farms out of the small holdings.

The technical transformation of agriculture will now for the first time become possible in the old South. Today untold wealth is being lost in soil erosion which is caused by the backward methods established by the credit and plantation system. The good soil is being exhausted or simply washed away. With the aid of trained specialists supplied by the Soviet Government, new methods of agriculture will be instituted. Instead of a one-sided one-crop agriculture which is fatalistic to the bankers and creditors, it will be possible to have a rounded and planned agriculture. Inferior land may be withdrawn and replanted with lumber forest crops may be raised on other land and the soil restored by rotation of crops and the cultivation of forage, etc. Live-stock breeding will replace mule breeding, as the tractor and

other agricultural machinery to replace the traditional bullock plough and to use modern seeds and fertilizers. The government has been encouraging farmers to use modern agricultural machinery and to use modern seeds and fertilizers. The government has been encouraging farmers to use modern agricultural machinery and to use modern seeds and fertilizers. The government has been encouraging farmers to use modern agricultural machinery and to use modern seeds and fertilizers.

social policy was made possible. The most vital contribution has been the development of a new system of financing of acres of cotton under the AAA and the New Deal. The new program will, therefore, contribute to the nation's distribution.

Where will the surplus be sold? It will be transformed into Southern agriculture. At the present time we make so other countries, England, France, and the United States and the large ones who demand that profits go to the capital country. When the surplus is now paid to the country it is transformed by the managers in the form of extra fat and it is in some cases as high as 700 per cent per annum. This practice will not be allowed. All corn will be sold for a fixed price and the same will be collected for stock fattens or by the government for the live cow owners.

argument etc. It will be a good valuable contribution to the present session of the conference and to the whole of the year with the hope that it will be a new and useful way of thinking for the future. I wish to say that it will be a good and important Southern agricultural and economic paper for its workers.

But this will not be the only method option. The government has also been planning to raise taxes on foreign firms and on the revenues of the State, largely obtained from State-owned industry.

and the Soviet Government and the United States Government. The principal policy of the Soviet Government with regard to the Negro Republic was not to establish relations with it, but only by raising a certain level of this nation's funds were intended to be allocated to agricultural and industrial development.

the South; the necessary skilled technicians and experts would be supplied. This was precisely the policy followed by the government of the Soviet Union in relation to the backward areas where the formerly oppressed nations lived. If the Soviet Union could do this, with its relatively limited resources, the Central Soviet Government in this country will be able to do it on a much greater scale. This question is connected with that of the building of industry in the South.

#### INDUSTRY

In comparison to the rest of the country, there is a very undeveloped and unbalanced industry in the plantation area of the South today. With the exception of cotton mill towns, there are no important large-scale industries in the Black Belt. The only heavy industrial center is in Birmingham, which is just off the northern tip of the Alabama Black Belt. The textile industry, by far the largest industry in the South, is centered in the North and South Carolina Piedmont and in the Northeastern part of Georgia. The rayon and tobacco industries are also removed from the plantation area. The only industries within the plantation area itself are those which are *closely connected* with agriculture, such as fertilizer, cotton gins, cotton-seed oil, lumber, turpentine.

The basic policy of the Soviet government in this respect would be to industrialize this area. Such industries as already exist would pass into the hands of the Soviet state. Even before new industries are built the first steps are likely to be: to open the textile industry to Negro workers, to incorporate such an important area as Birmingham in the territory of the Negro Republic in order to create a basis for the machine-building industry; to modernize and improve the fertilizer, cotton-ginning and other similar industrial plants; the use of scientific methods in the exploitation of the pine woods, which under the competitive capitalist system, are now being quickly exhausted; to develop the furniture industry in connection with lumbering.

One of the principal problems would certainly be the supply of agricultural machinery. The development of such a large-scale industry in connection with the Birmingham area would be on the order of the day. Birmingham has not been developed to its full potentialities because of the competition of the northern steel-producing centers. Yet Birmingham is conceded by all specialists in the field to be ideal as the center of a huge metal

industry. There are close at hand the necessary coal, ore and dolomite. This could become the great manufacturing center of tractors and other agricultural machinery which will be a great force in bringing about socialism on the former slave land.

This area is also rich in water power. Capitalism has only just begun the development of electric power in the South and this growth has been retarded because there is not sufficient industry to make use of this power. Under the planned economy of a Soviet state, old industry would be reconstructed, new industries would arise.

We have only indicated some of the possibilities. Still greater ones would unfold in a Soviet America. This much is important and certain: with the overthrow of the landlord-capitalist power and the establishment of the Soviet Negro Republic, the most backward section of the United States would develop into an advanced, wealthy area. The rich resources of the territory, until now wasted and plundered by the capitalists, would be turned to their own account by the workers and farmers, with the aid of the working class of the North and northern resources. Then would the basis of Negro equality be established. And the so-called poor whites would also be liberated from poverty, extreme exploitation and backwardness.

### The Realization of Social Equality

When the slaves were liberated in the South as a result of the Civil War the slave blocks and auction houses were burned to the ground by the former chattels. One can well imagine with what elation the liberated people of the South will now burn the jim-crow signs, symbols of the capitalist slavery of white and Negro alike. The bonfire of jim-crow signs will light the way to real freedom.

The power of the workers and poor farmers will create for the first time a culture for the masses of the South. New, modern school buildings will arise by the thousands. Illiteracy, the shame of the South, will be wiped out. Technical schools and universities will also become a southern product. We think it entirely safe to predict that the public school system in all its branches will develop at a rate in the South exceeding any previous records in the history of American capitalism.

Much will have to be done in the field of health protection. The diseases of poverty—pellagra, hookworm, etc.—which plague

the southern masses today, will for the first time meet a stronger foe. This foe will be victorious because it will at the same time do away with poverty, the prime cause of these diseases. Professional care and public hospitalization will for the first time be available on a large scale to the Negro masses and poor whites. President Roosevelt's present estate in Georgia and the other resorts of the millionaires, can be turned into sanatoria, hospitals, clubs, etc. Palm Beach can become the haven of tired workers and toiling farmers. The pine woods can also be used as health-giving resorts. All the best spots and resorts of the present ruling class can become rest homes for the masses.

Much will also have to be done in the socialist education of the white population. The revolution will have removed the basis of prejudice, but socialist education will remove even the remnants of prejudice.

Only on the basis of socialism is the possibility created for the full and equal development of the Negro people. Under the slave power and under the capitalist power the Negro people have been retarded, oppressed, persecuted. Under the power of the workers and the poor farmers they can blossom forth and realize all their potentialities. Only then as a full-fledged people will they be able to take their undisputed and equal status besides all the peoples of the world.

This is only a mere peep into the vista of a glorious future for the masses. Such things are not easy to achieve. They come as the result of hard struggle. But why not turn those energies and powers of ours, which the exploiting classes are using for their benefit, to our benefit?

We must begin now—begin by organizing, by preparing our forces in our daily struggles to improve our conditions, by learning "to take over." Above all we must build and support the *only* revolutionary party of the working class, the Communist Party. This Party, composed of staunch revolutionists and militant workers, is training and leading the working class and the oppressed masses towards their great objective.

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